554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
●627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
● 627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 684 /214 cont./ One who acts in this manner does not do so in blind rage. He knows exactly whom he wants to stab. In such a case one speaks of adjallo' (1). A man whose sister

577 627 684

1. See above, p. 74. It is completely incorrect to speak in such a case of "amuck"; this term covers an entirely different psychic state. Compare Professor van Wulfften Palthe, "De psychologie van de amok /The Psychology of the Amok/," Fakkel, 1941.

fled years ago and who stabbed her to death at an accidental encounter showed no remorse for his deed, but nonetheless was saddened about her death. He lamented the fact that he /215/ had encountered her. Given this encounter, however, he had been unable, as he saw it, to act in any other way unless he wanted to be regarded as a man without honor. Thus he was in a situation in which he saw no other way out than to kill.

627 671 682 684 Led before the judge, a defendant in a similar case generally confesses without hesitation. In answer to the question how he came to do the deed, he reports that the victim -- in the most fortunate case the maltreated person -- made him siri', and he regards this as sufficient motivation because every Makassarese immediately understands this involves his female relatives, and, on the basis of that, sympathizes with his deed.

[695] Once they are sentenced by the judge, the defendants rarely appeal. They accept the decision without further ado. They regard their deed as an honorable male act and not as a misdeed. Toward the judge who must sentence them they want to confess nobly, and they do not want reduced

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, [428] and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1).

428 588 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

[539]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
627
684

3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
[521] does the danger become real for the woman. She always has a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
●627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

[562] The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must
684 pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 A few observations can be made concerning the origin
627 of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called,
684 "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht,/ Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the
627 number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to
648 have been very large. At that time the administration looked
684

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
[588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains
588 in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry
848 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motionless 576] . He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493 Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

622 /232 cont./ siri' feelings must be repressed. It is also always
● 627 a superior who makes the first attempts at creating a reconciliation. The tumasiri' cannot oppose his clearly expressed wishes, unless they have special reasons for doing so. However,
[577] the tumasiri' can only be expected to begin by fighting against a reconciliation, because this is masculine, and it is therefore appreciated if one adopts an unconciliatory attitude and pretends that this siri' can only be reconciled by death.

But there are limits to the pressure which a superior can exercise in such an instance. If the pressure is too strong, his wish is not accepted by a number of tumasiri'. At most, the one who during preparatory conversations had personal contact with the superior feels obligated toward the superior. Opposition grows between the tumasiri', and through "incorrect understanding" the reconciliation ceremony ends in failure. In that case the tumasiri'-tumannjala relation continues to exist. This was the case when the brother of a woman who had fled yielded to the pressure of the gurukampong to agree to the reconciliation. At the hour that had been fixed, none of the other kinsmen was present in the house to which the tumannjala were supposed to come. Previously the rumor had circulated that difficulties were to be expected. For that reason the adat community head had sent a representative. Since the personal authority of the gurukampong was insufficient, someone higher than he had to be present in order to prevent bloodshed.

The two tumannjala were received by the representative of the /233/ head, the gurukampong (the mediator), and the wife's brother. The situation was extremely difficult for the
[626] brother . He was present in order not to be impolite toward the gurukampong, but among his kinsmen he was regarded as the one who had shown insufficient awareness of the disgrace that had been inflicted upon them. He was spared being asked for forgiveness by the couple and having his hand grasped by

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[694 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
935] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.

627 /234 cont./. After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

593 627 The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's 562 593 627 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 602 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

602 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the
627 cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been
593 left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to
588 bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed
● [627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
593
588

4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
● 627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
[177] hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia OBl
Minangkabau ODlD
Bali OF7
Toradja OBll
Makassar OC6
Borneo OCl

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.